

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 HONG K 02221 040456Z

16

ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SIL-01

LAB-04 EB-07 COME-00 CU-02 IO-10 AID-05 OMB-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 NSCE-00 EUR-12 /098 W
----- 005003

P R 030935Z MAR 75

FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4007

INFO USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 2221

NOFORN

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS2

TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJECT: YAO WEN-YUAN WARNS OF NEW BOURGEOIS

SUMMARY: YAO WEN-YUAN HAS WARNED YOUNG WORKERS AND CADRES NOT
TO BECOME THE "NEW BOURGEOIS" THROUGH GRASPING FOR PERSONAL
FAME AND FORTUNE (WAGE INCREASES). END SUMMARY

1. POLITBURO MEMBER AND REGIME IDEOLOGUE YAO WEN-YUAN HAS
DECRIED THE "NEW BOURGEOIS" AND WARNED AGAINST BEING TRIPPED
UP THROUGH GRASPING FOR PERSONAL FAME AND FORTUNE. IN A VERY
IMPORTANT ARTICLE LAUNCHED IN THE MARCH ISSUE OF RED FLAG,
YAO, WHOSE LAST SIGNED ARTICLE APPEARED IN AUGUST 1968 WHEN
HE TOLD RED GUARDS THEY HAD MESSED UP, IS CLEARLY SPEAKING TO
AND ABOUT YOUNG ACTIVISTS WHO WENT OFF TRACK IN LAST YEAR'S
POLITICAL MOVEMENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 HONG K 02221 040456Z

2. TO SHOW HE IS ADDRESSING THE YOUNGER GENERATION, YAO HOLDS UP LIN PIAO'S SON AND CO-CONSPIRATOR, LIN LI-KUO, AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE NEW BOURGEOIS. "YOUNG WORKERS, PARTICULARLY THOSE WHO HAVE BECOME CADRES" ARE AMONG THOSE "CORRUPTED YOUNG PEOPLE" WHO MOST CONCERN YAO AS HE VIEWS THE PHENOMENON. DOUBTLESS THESE INCLUDE THOSE WORKERS DEMANDING WAGE INCREASES AND THOSE CADRE LEADING FACTIONAL STRUGGLES.

3. THE HEART OF YAO' MESSAGE TO THE YOUNG IS THAT ELITISM AND ITS EXPRESSION IN MATERIAL REWARDS IS NOT TO BE PERPETUATED -- BUT NEITHER WILL IT SOON GO AWAY. THE NEW BOURGEOIS REVEAL THEMSELVES BY THEIR GREED FOR THESE OLD-STYLE RICHES, SHOWING THE "POLITICAL FEATURES OF DOUBLE-DEALERS AND UPSTARTS" WHO ARE "ANXIOUS TO SWALLOW AT ONE GULP" THE WEALTH WHICH BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE. IN SUM, HE SEEMS TO SAY THAT YOUTH SHOULD ESCHEW FAME AND FORTUNE BUT BE PATIENT WHILE THE OLD SYSTEM OF INEQUALITIES IS LIQUIDATED "GRADUALLY" OVER GENERATIONS.

4. YAO'S GENERAL MESSAGE IS THE FAMILIAR CALL FOR IDEOLOGICAL STUDY, BUT HE CITES AS A CURRENT GOAL THE PROMOTION OF "NATION-WIDE STABILITY AND UNITY," A FUNDAMENTAL GOAL TO EMERGE FROM THE PRODUCTION- ORIENTED PARTY PLENUM AND THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS LAST MONTH. YAO APPEARS TO HAVE HIS SAILS TRIMMED TO THAT GOAL AND TO HAVE JOINED CHANG CHUN-CHIAO IN ENDORSING A GRADUALIST APPROACH TO SOCIAL REFORM. YAO "SHARPLY" WARNS ERRANT CADRES TO "MEND YOUR WAYS RIGHT NOW*," BUT THIS DOES NOT SOUND LIKE A CALL FOR AN IMMEDIATE ATTACK. (WE WOULD EXPECT SUCH A CALL LATER, AFTER CADRES HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO FALL INTO LINE.)

5 YAO'S ARTICLE, HOWEVER, HAS SOME BARBS IN IT FOR THOSE BEHIND THE SCENES WHO CORRUPT YOUTH, AND HE CLOSES WITH A MAO QUOTE WHICH WARNS THAT A RIGHTIST COUP COULD NOT SURVIVE. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT YAO MEANS THIS AS A REAFFIRMATION OF HIS LEFTIST STAND, BUT THERE IS LITTLE IN HIS TEXT ON WHICH YAO COULD BE FAULTED AS A MARXIST-LENINIST. RATHER, THE CONTRAST IS BETWEEN HIS REPUDIATION OF PURSUING PERSONAL AMBITION AND WANG HUNG-WEN'S 1973 CALL FOR ATTACKING LEADING CADRES. (WE DO NOT HAVE A CURRENT FIX ON WANG'S THINKING, NOR ON THE ATTITUDE OF CHING CHING, WHO WAS A LEADING FIGURE IN LAST YEAR'S MOVEMENT. IT MAY BE SIGNIFICANT THAT CHANG

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 HONG K 02221 040456Z

CHUN-CHIAO AND YAO, WHO HAD LOW PROFILES LAST YEAR, ARE DOING THE TALKING NOW.)

6. IN FURTHER CONTRAST WITH LAST YEAR'S MORE MILITANT LEFTIST VOICE, YAO IS CONSPICUOUSLY SILENT ABOUT THE OLDER GENERATION AND SAYS NOTHING ABOUT MISTAKES MADE BY VETERAN CADRES (NOW REHABILITATED IN GREAT NUMBERS), NOR DOES HE REITERATE LAST YEAR'S CALLS FOR SENIOR CADRE TO MOVE OVER AND MAKE ROOM FOR THE NEW.

YAO ALSO STEERS CLEAR OF DISCUSSING THE LEGALISTS AND CONFUCIANISTS, A FASHION MUCH IN VOGUE LAST YEAR AND IDENTIFIED WITH CHIANG CHING. YAO SEEMS INTENT ON PROJECTING HIMSELF AS AN ORTHODOX PHILOSOPHER WHO LEANS ON MARXISM-LENINISM AS WELL AS MAO THOUGHT.

7. THE PROOF OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AN ARTICLE LIKE THIS IS HOW THE COUNTRY REACTS AND IT MAY BE SOME TIME BEFORE GENUINE REACTION IS CLEAR. WE EXPECT SOME FALSE CLUES AND A GOOD DEAL OF SPECULATION. IN THIS CONNECTION, A NUMBER OF POINTS IN YAO'S ARTICLE BEAR OUTFOR THE FIRST TIME INFORMATION ABOUT THE LIN PIAO AFFAIR AND ITS AFTERMATH AVAILABLE EARLIER ONLY FROM INTELLIGENCE SOURCES. ONE LINE OF SPECULATION WE EXPECT WILL COME OUT IS THAT YAO IS AN EXTREMIST WHO HELPED LAUNCH THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND THEREFORE HE MUST BE SIGNALING ANOTHER SUCH DISRUPTIVE MOVEMENT. AS NOTED ABOVE, YAO'S AUGUST 1968 RED FLAG ARTICLE WARNING THE RED GUARDS, COUPLED WITH HIS SEPTEMBER 8, 1967 PEOPLE' DAILY ATTACK ON THE LEFT EXTREMIST "516" GROUP, SUGGEST TO US ANOTHER VIEW OF YAO'S RECORD.
CROSS

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SITUATION, SOCIAL CHANGE, POLITICAL LEADERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 MAR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: johnsorg
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975HONGK02221
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X2
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750074-0804
From: HONG KONG
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750389/aaaadcoe.tel
Line Count: 134
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: johnsorg
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11 JUL 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <11 JUL 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <13 NOV 2003 by johnsorg>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: YAO WEN-YUAN WARNS OF NEW BOURGEOIS SUMMARY: YAO WEN-YUAN HAS WARNED YOUNG WORKERS AND CADRES NOT
TAGS: PINT, CH, (YAO WEN-YUAN)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006